CHAPTER X.

KRISHNARĀJA WODEYAR II, 1734-1766—(*contd.*)

Ancestry, early career and rise of Haidar Ali—Down to 1746—Distinguishes himself during the siege of Devanahalli, 1746-1747—Takes part in the *Karnatak War of Succession*, 1750-1751—Accompanies Karachuri Nanjarajaiya to Trichinopoly, 1751-1752—His services during the Mysorean struggle for Trichinopoly, 1752-1755—As *Faujdar* of Dindigal, 1755-1757—His activities during the crisis of 1758—Mahratta affairs in the Karnatak, 1757-1758: A retrospect—Their pressure on Seringapatam; *c.* May 1757-July 1758—Their advance on Bangalore, February-August 1758—Their renewed pressure on Seringapatam, August-September 1758—Their siege of Bangalore, September 1758—Haidar's opportunity, August-September 1758—His march on Bangalore, September 1758—Progress of the siege, September-October 1758—Haidar raises the siege and engages the Mahrattas, October-December 1758—Rises in the estimation of his masters, December 1758—Is granted an assignment, April 1759; Returns to Seringapatam, August 1759.

Ancestry, early career and rise of Haidar Alī.

WE have now to pause for a while and proceed to sketch the ancestry, early career and rise to power of that remarkable man, Haidar Alī, and the course of events which tended to make him a prominent figure in the politics of the kingdom of Mysore—and even of India—about this time (1759).[1]

1. Cf. *Wilks*, I. 261-270, 292, 297-330, 358-359, 370, 387-486. His account of the ancestry and early career of Haidar Alī is a disjointed one, while his treatment of Haidar's rise and usurpation is so thoroughly divorced from the main currents of the history of Mysore that this part of his narrative reads as if it formed the main thesis of his work rather than an episode—which it really is—in the historical evolution of Southern India (1750-1761). Wilks lived too close to the events he described to tear himself off successfully from the very deep impression they had left on him. The sources now available to us and referred to here and in Ch. XI below, however, enable us to treat this topic as an incident in the history of the kingdom of Mysore, a study in reaction of affairs—external and internal

Haidar Alī (in his younger years).

Among the immediate ancestors of Haidar was one Asharāf Sāhib who came from Arabia and distinguished himself in the service of the Adil Shah of Bijāpur (16-17th cent.). In course of time, a descendant of his migrated to Kōlār, where he eventually died leaving three sons. Fāthullā, the eldest, engaged himself under the Nawāb of Sīra (*c.* 1720) as an officer of 500 horse and 650 men, became famous as Futte Nāyak and settled at Gummanahaḷḷi, near Sīra, which became his *jahgīr*; Gulām Haidar, the second, served under Mallarājaiya, officer of the Mysore Government at Maddagiri; and Gulām Alī, the third, under Abbās Kuḷi Khān, Killēdār of Doḍballāpur. Fāthullā was slain during an action against the chief of Chitaldrug (Hiriya-Medekere Nāyaka) near Gummanahaḷḷi (*c.* 1730), and he left behind him two sons, Muhammad Śābās Sāhib and Haidar Alī (*b.* 1717 ? 1722), and a debt of 9,000 *varahas* (three due to the Subādār of Sīra and six to the local merchants). In dire distress, Śābās and Haidar, having pledged the ladies and children of the family in satisfaction of the dues, proceeded to their uncle Gulām Alī at Doḍballāpur. The latter himself owed 1,000 *varahas* to the Killēdār and was unable to help his nephews. Whereupon Gulām Haidar, the other uncle, made a representation to Daḷavāi Dēvarājaiya at Seringapatam, and with his permission succeeded in redeeming the entire debt through Mallarājaiya (*c.* 1735). Śābās and Haidar then went over to Maddagiri. After the death of Gulām Haidar, Śābās succeeded to his place and in due course both he and Haidar joined service in the Mysore army as peons under Katti Gōpālarāja Urs at Bangalore (*c.* 1738).[2]

Down to 1746.

2. *Haid. Nām.* (1784), ff. 1-2. See also and compare *Annals*. The account of Haidar's ancestry, early career, rise, etc., as given in this work (the *Annals*) (I. 176-182, 184-196), partakes of the character of a compilation from earlier authorities, including even the *Haid. Nām.* For a treatment of this topic from the Muslim point of view, see *Neshauni Hydur* (*The History of*

Distinguishes himself during the siege of Dēvanahaḷḷi, 1746-1747.

Haidar first attracted the attention of Karāchūri Nanjarājaiya in 1746, when the latter, on his way to Dēvanahaḷḷi, instituted a tournament in marksmanship at Bangalore, in which Haidar, alone among all the competitors, scored a brilliant success, to the wonder and approbation of Nanjarājaiya. During the siege of Dēvanahaḷḷi (1746-1747), Haidar distinguished himself as a commander of 50 horse and 200 peons, and with conspicuous ability and skill fought against heavy odds, extricating his elder brother Śābās from the clutches of his opponents in the fort.[3]

Takes part in the *Karnāṭak War of Succession*, 1750-1751.

Haidar next took part in Nāsir Jang's campaign against Muzaffar Jang (April-December 1750) in the Arcot province, serving under Barakki Venkaṭa Rao, officer commanding the contingent from Mysore. During the confusion which followed the death by treachery of Nāsir (in December), Haidar, we learn, succeeded in capturing fifteen camel loads of *Akbar Mohars* from the latter's camp, and returned to Seringapatam early in 1751. Daḷavāi Dēvarājaiya attempted to confiscate the fortune Haidar had thus amassed. Nanjarājaiya, however, managed to satisfy him and the property became the nucleus of Haidar's power.[4]

Accompanies Karāchūri Nanjarājaiya to Trichinopoly, 1751-1752.

Haidar now settled himself with his family at Dēvanahaḷḷi (1751). During the contest between Muhammad Alī and Chandā Sāhib for the Nawābship of Arcot and

Hydur Naik) by Husain Alī Khān Kīrmāṇi, translated by Col. W. Miles (Chs. I-VII, pp. 1-95). This work is later than the *Haid. Nām.*, being written during c. 1798-1802. It suffers, however, from a loose sequence of events and is a curious medley of fact and fiction, and fulsome eulogy. The colourless, and chronologically accurate, account of the earliest chronicle *Haid. Nām.*, supplemented by other contemporary sources of information, is preferred here. Haidar's place of birth is not known for certain. It was either Būdikōṭe where his father lived or Kōlār, the residence of his grandfather.

3. *Ibid*, ff. 2-3. 4. *Ibid*, ff. 4-5, 7.

Trichinopoly (1751-1752), he accompanied Nanjarājaiya to Trichinopoly and was of considerable assistance to him in furnishing him with supplies in men and money, in recognition of which Nanjarājaiya conferred upon him the title of *Bahadūr* and permitted him to raise fresh troops for future use. Haidar soon made himself master of 2,000 horse, 4,000 armed peons and 4,000 *bār*, which he levied out of his recent acquisition. On the fall of Chandā Sāhib (June 1752), he purchased from the latter's army a number of matchlocks (at Rs. 3 to 4 each) for his men, and rendered signal service in interrupting provisions to the Trichinopoly Fort.[5]

His services during the Mysorean struggle for Trichinopoly, 1752-1755.

During the Mysorean struggle for Trichinopoly (1752-1755), Haidar made a name for himself as a loyal servant of Nanjarājaiya. In June 1752, as we have seen, he gave a timely warning to Nanjarājaiya against Muhammad Alī's treachery, and in July, he even suggested to him the capture of the Nawāb. In January 1753, he, with Hari Singh, his military rival, led the Mysore horse and charged the enemy at Śrīrangam, terminating the skirmish by the seizure of some firelocks. Again, in April 1755, he tactfully put down a rising of the Mysore troops at Śrīrangam, promising to satisfy them with half their dues within three days. So powerful indeed was the influence of his personality over the military, that they soon recognised him as their leader, went over to him and prepared to march back to Seringapatam as if nothing had happened.[6]

As *Faujdār* of Diṇḍigal, 1755-1757.

In June 1755, Nanjarājaiya, on his way to Mysore, dismissed some of his forces and placed the rest under Haidar (now *Haidar Alī Khān-Bahadūr*),[7] appointing him *Faujdār* of Diṇḍigal and assigning to him places below the ghāṭs (*viz.*, Satyamangalam, Ērōḍe and Śaṅkhagiri)

5. *Ibid*, ff. 7. 6. *Ibid*, ff. 6-10. 7. *Ibid*, ff. 11.

yielding 3,00,000 *Gōpāli varahas*.[8] During 1755-1757, Haidar was active in Diṇḍigal, subduing Ammi Nāyaka, Appi Nāyaka and other Pāḷegārs of Palani (Palni), Virūpākshi and Miḷḷemirangi, winning the goodwill of the local populace by presents and benevolences (*nazarāṇe*), accumulating funds to the extent of rupees two lakhs, securing orders for his measures from Vakīl Khaṇḍē Rao at Seringapatam, and equipping himself with resources in men and materials (such as, new matchlocks prepared by *Kārēgārs*, specially requisitioned from Trichinopoly).[9] About the middle of 1757, he despatched a detachment of 2,000 horse and 4,000 *bār* under Saiyid Mokhdum (his brother-in-law) and Barakki Venkaṭa Rao to Malabar, where differences had arisen between the local chiefs. Haidar's troops raided the Calicut-Cochin province, levying contributions from the rulers of Pālghāṭ and Tellicherry and settling the tribute (*pagadi*) due from the Nairs of Calicut at rupees twelve lakhs. The Nairs, however, secretly communicated with Daḷavāi Dēvarājaiya—now at Satyamangalam—promising to pay the amount to him, provided he would recall Haidar's contingent from Malabar. Haidar too, in turn, wrote to Dēvarājaiya about the heavy expenses incurred by him on his army. Whereupon Dēvarājaiya executed a draft for rupees three lakhs on one Vāḍēbāgila Ranganṇa, payable to Haidar. Haidar then recalled his troops and Dēvarājaiya despatched Jamādār Hari Singh at the head of 500 horse to Calicut to demand the stipulated amount of tribute.[10] So strong was the position of Haidar in Diṇḍigal that by the end

8. *Ibid.* In this connection, a military advice, it is interesting to note, refers to "Haider Naique" as "marching down this way [*i.e.*, south of Mysore] with 6,000 men and 8 lakhs of rupees . . ." [*Di. Cons. Bk.*, (1755), p. 117, July 17, 1755: Captain Caillaud to the Board]. The *Di. A. Pi.* (XI. 9: *Notes* dated July 6, 1757) speaks of Haidar as having been "sent as Sardar [to the south, *i.e.*, Diṇḍigal] with 5,000 horse, 6,000 or 7,000 sepoys and 25,000 or 30,000 men," etc.

9. *Ibid.* 10. *Ibid*, ff. 11-12.

of 1757 he was known to have been engaged in a design to take possession of Madura and Tinnevelly countries in co-operation with the French.[11]

His activities during the crisis of 1758.

Meanwhile Daḷavāi Dēvarājaiya was utilising for his personal use the revenues from Satyamangalam, due to Haidar. About the beginning of January 1758, Haidar paid a visit to Seringapatam, to set matters right. He inspected the spot from where the Mahrattas had delivered their attack on the fort in April 1757, expressing apparent regret at his not being sent for on that occasion.[12] During January, Haidar led an attack against Sīra (which was in the possession of the Mahrattas since May 1757) jointly with Basālat Jang, plundering the country round and impressing the Mahrattas, for the first time, as a power to reckon with.[13] By February Haidar retraced his steps to Diṇḍigal, visiting Dēvarājaiya at Satyamangalam and arranging with him through Khaṇḍē Rao for the prompt remittance of the dues from that place to himself.[14] About March, the Mysore army at Seringapatam, as related in the preceding chapter, became mutinous on account of arrears of their pay, and Haidar was desired by Nanjarājaiya to proceed forthwith to the capital.[15] Haidar, on his way thither, insisted upon Dēvarājaiya to return to Seringapatam but the latter refused to comply. Whereupon Haidar fired shots at the fort of Satyamangalam, much to the consternation of the local officials. Dēvarājaiya then left for the capital, halting at Mysore (in April).[16] By April

11. *Di. A. Pi.*, 66 : *Notes* dated October 13, 1757 ; *Count. Corres.* (1757), p. 175 : *Letter* No. 369, dated September 8, 1757 ; also *Press List* (1755-1759), pp. 663, 671, 676, 678 : *Letter* Nos. 4425, 4500, 4540 and 4558 (December-January 1757-1758).

12. *Haid. Nām.*, ff. 12-13.

13. *Sel. Pesh. Daft.*, Vol. XXVIII, *Letter* No. 275, dated January 13, 1758—Visāji Bābū Rao, Gooty, to Bābā Sāheb.

14. *Haid. Nām.*, ff. 13. 15. *Ibid*, ff. 13-14.

16. *Ibid*, ff. 13 ; see also *Sel. Pesh. Daft.*, *Letter* No. 219, dated April 29, 1758—Banāji Mādhava Rao to Pēshwa.

1758, Haidar was in Seringapatam where the situation had become critical. The disaffected military were sitting in *dharṇa* before the residences of the king and Nanjarājaiya, obstructing the passage of water thereto. At the same time Haidar made it a point of paying a visit to the *Kartar* (Krishṇarāja Woḍeyar) and Nanjarājaiya once in three or four days. The situation was, however, by no means improved. At length, during one such visit, both the *Kartar* and Nanjarājaiya were driven to the necessity of prevailing upon Haidar to endeavour to terminate the trouble to the utmost of his ability. At first Haidar affected to be reluctant to act, representing in all humility that during the crisis it was but expedient for his masters to exert themselves, and that if he, a servant of theirs, acted up to their orders, he would, far from winning their esteem and approbation, eventually incur their displeasure besides public obloquy. Haidar was told in reply that he might not worry himself about the consequences, since he would only be proceeding as a delegate of his masters who looked upon him as their virtual son. Haidar, however, made up his mind to handle the situation only after a deed (*Karar-nāme*) was drawn up by them (*i.e.*, his masters) investing him with absolute powers to punish and control anybody in the kingdom except the *Kartar*, Nanjarājaiya and the members of their family.[17] Then Haidar got Vakīl

17. *Ibid*, 13-14. *Kartar*: from *Karta*, lit. doer, maker, creator, master, king, agent, etc. Cf. *Karta* of a joint Hindu family, where *Karta* signifies manager, one who is legally the head of a family. The word is literally used in the Ms. of *Haid. Nām.* to denote the ruling sovereign Krishṇarāja Woḍeyar II. In reality, however, it is reminiscent of the earlier position of the rulers of Mysore from Rāja Woḍeyar onwards as the agent to or representative of the Vijayanagar Empire in the southern Viceroyalty of Seringapatam (*Dakshiṇa-simhāsana-Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇakke Kartarāda*) [see Vol. I, pp. 64 (*n.* 114), 232-233]. Evidently, about the time we are writing of, this derivative meaning seems to have fallen into desuetude in favour of the general conception of master or king implied by the word. Haidar himself, as we shall see in the next chapter, was,

Khaṇḍē Rao appointed as his chief executive officer (*sarvādhikāra*) and began to hold daily office in the *Kartar's* pavilion (*Kartara dēvaḍi*) in the Palace, exercising his authority with a judicious combination of rigour and moderation, exacting presents and benevolences from the populace, amassing large sums of money and systematically quelling the rising of the military by paying off their arrears, by dismissing 4,000 cavalry and plundering, and enlisting in his own service, some of them, who remained unwieldy. At the same time he strengthened his position by posting guards at the gate of Seringapatam, and by removing his troops from the fort and stationing them on the elevated ground of Kaḍatanāḷu and Kennāḷu near by.[18] In May-June, Haidar with Khaṇḍē Rao composed the differences between Nanjarājaiya and Daḷavāi Dēvarājaiya at Mysore; effected a reconciliation between the two brothers and the *Kartar* in a public Durbār at Seringapatam; and finally encamped with his troops near the *Mahānavami maṇṭapam* at the junction of both the banks of the Cauvery.[19] About July, Haidar despatched Sayid Mokhdum with 500 horse and 2,000 *bār* against his rival Hari Singh, who had failed to collect the tribute from the Nāirs of Calicut and encamped near Avanāśi. The detachment succeeded in plundering Hari Singh's forces, putting him to death and capturing 300 of his horse, 1,000 matchlocks, 3 elephants and treasure, out of which Haidar made over to the Seringapatam

after 1761, considered to derive his authority from king Krishṇarāja, as is evident from the title *Kārya-Karta* ascribed to him. Though he appears to have assumed virtual independence in the territories directly administered by him, he was, in his own view, but an agent's agent. It may be added that the word *Kārya-Karta* was the designation of the day of an agent who carried out the duties vested in him by his master. See, for instance, f.n. 75 below. Even much earlier, during 1734-1758, Daḷavāi Dēvarājaiya also occupied a similar position. See, for instance, *M. A. R.*, 1935, p. 100, No. 28 (1751), l. 9, where he is referred to as an agent for the affairs of king Krishṇarāja (*Kārya Kartuvāda*).

18. *Ibid*, ff. 14-15. 19. *Ibid*, ff. 13.

Government 15 horses, 3 matchlocks and one elephant.[20] In July, Haidar marched on from Mysore, passing through Karūr, Nerūr and Tottiyam, with 2,000 horse, on his way to join the French (now under M. Count de Lally, 1758-1761) in the design on Madura and Tinnevelly.[21] About the middle of August, however, Haidar was again back in Mysore, in time to watch the situation caused by the movements of the Mahrattas in the Karnāṭak and particularly by their pressure on Seringapatam.[22]

Mahratta affairs in the Karnāṭak, 1757-1758: A retrospect.

Ever since the invasion of Seringapatam by Pēshwa Bālāji Rao in March-April 1757, it had become his definite ambition to dominate the whole of the Karnāṭak-Bālaghāṭ and Pāyanghāṭ as far as Rāmēśvaram, in furtherance of the Mahratta ideal of a Hindu Empire (*Hindu-Pād-Pādshāhī*). In working out this objective, Bālāji Rao, on May 11, concluded with Murāri Rao-Ghōrpaḍe a second agreement, specifying the conditions under which the *chauth* of the Karnāṭak (from places like Bednūr, Harihar, Basavāpaṭṇa, Kōlār, Doḍballāpur and Chikballāpur) was to be collected.[23] On the 19th, the Pēshwa expressed his strong disapproval of the policy of the English Government at Madras (under George Pigot),[24] who, since 1755, were attempting to negotiate for the surrender of Trichinopoly to Mysore by way of recovering their advances to Muhammad Alī (whose financial position was by no means improved since the truce of 1754-1755).[25] Evidently the Pēshwa, as

20. *Ibid*, ff. 15. 21. *Di. A. Pi.*, 234: *Notes* dated July 18, 1758.
22. See *Sel. Pesh. Daft.*, *Letter* No. 227 (dated August 24, 1758), cited below.
23. *Ibid*, *Letter* No. 185, dated May 11, 1757.
24. *Count. Corres.*, p. 88: *Letter* No. 195, dated May 19, 1757—Bālāji Rao to his Vakīl. The Pēshwa wrote, "I hear that the English are willing to give the fort of Trichinopoly to the Mayasorians on receiving a sum of money. As the English are merchants, it is not in their power to sell it nor is it proper for them to do this business "
25. *Ibid*; see also Appendix II—(8).

indicated in the last chapter, had an eye on Trichinopoly as the base of his power in South India. About the 24th, Bālāji Rao, on his way from Seringapatam, took possession of Sīra from its Killēdār "partly by contrivance and partly by threats," and placed it under Balavant Rao at the head of 15,000 horse.[26] On the approach of the rainy season, the Pēshwa, alarmed by the news of hostilities committed by the Paṭhāns at Delhi, returned to Poona, instructing Balavant Rao to settle Sīra and take notice of Arcot and other places, and leaving under him Visāji Krishṇa, Mukund Rao Śrīpat, Amrit Rao, Ragho Bābaji and other Sardārs in charge of the Mahrattā outposts in different parts of the Karnāṭak for the levying of contributions and collection of arrears of *chauth* therefrom.[27] The Pēshwa's acquisition of Sīra was, however, soon resented by the Nawābs of Cuddapah, Kurnool and Savaṇūr, the Mysoreans and the local Pāḷegārs of Chitaldrug and other places, who, in July, incited by Muhammad Alī and the English, not only appealed to Murāri Rao but also proposed their readiness to join him in an attempt to curb the "strong power" of the Pēshwa.[28] During 1757-1758 there was no peace in the Karnāṭak which was constantly devastated by Mahratta and Mughal incursions and torn asunder by internal dissensions.[29]

Their pressure on Seringapatam, *c.* May 1757-July 1758.

Since Bālāji Rao's departure from Seringapatam (*c.* May 1757), Banāji Mādhava Rao, his representative, was actively pressing the authorities for the payment of arrears of *chauth* due to the Pēshwa.[30]

26. *Ibid*, pp. 93-94, 145 : *Letter* Nos. 203 and 303, dated May 24 and July 19, 1757.
27. *Ibid*, *Letter* Nos. 195 and 203 *supra* ; also *Sel. Pesh. Daft.*, cited *infra*.
28. *Ibid*, pp. 141, 145-146, 148-149, 163 : *Letter* Nos. 290, 303, 307, 337 (July-August 1757).
29. *Sel. Pesh. Daft.*, Vol. XXVIII, *Letter* Nos. 193, 197, 200, 201, 207, 210, 214, 275 ; also Vol. XL, *Letter* No. 107, etc.
30. *Ibid*, *Letter* No. 197, dated October 10, 1757?—Banāji Mādhava Rao, Seringapatam, to Balavant Rao. The reference to the Mahratta claims

In September-October (1757), the promised period of the chief of Seringapatam expired and Nanjarājaiya began to put off the issue, his disagreement with Daḷavāi Dēvarājaiya contributing no less to that end.[31] Balavant Rao, from Sīra, promptly answered by taking stations and trying to overawe Nanjarājaiya.[32] About the end of December, the latter attempted to save himself by entering into an agreement with Mukund Rao Śrīpat (Balavant's lieutenant), and by making fresh promises and assurances, jointly with the *Kartar*.[33] Nevertheless, the dues remained uncleared and in January 1758, the Mahrattas advanced on all sides, gradually establishing new pickets and subduing the land.[34] Bangalore soon became their objective, from where, in February, they decided to give a strong warning to the authorities in Seringapatam to raise as much money as possible in payment of the arrears of 1757 and *chauth* for 1758, and if there was no settlement, " to capture 3-4 stations like Bangalore and preclude him [Nanjarājaiya] from any control this side of the Cauvery except perhaps only 2-4 hill-forts." [35] By April, Balavant Rao had taken 13-14 places round about Bangalore and was on the

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to *chauth* or tribute from Mysore, frequently reflected in the letters of the *Pēshwa Daftar*, is in full accord with the current political conceptions of the time explained in Chapter IV, f.n. 19, and cannot be taken to be a literal claim enforced by a conqueror on the conquered. For there is no evidence of Mysore having been subdued by any of the country powers, or of her having entered into any political obligation with them, during the period, while the Mysoreans themselves were trying to assert their supremacy over the South as against those powers, and claiming such "tribute" from certain of their neighbours.

31. *Ibid*, *Letter* No. 193, dated September 6, 1757—Visāji Krishṇa to Nānā Sāheb (Pēshwa Bālāji Rao) and Bhao Sāheb ; also Nos. 197 and 201, cited *supra* and *infra*.
32. *Ibid*, *Letter* No. 201, dated October 28, 1757—Pēshwa to Balavant Rao.
33. *Ibid*, Vol. XL, *Letter* No. 104, dated January 4, 1758—Mukund Śrīpat to Bābā Sāheb.
34. *Ibid*, Vol. XXVIII, *Letter* No. 210, dated January 21, 1758—Visāji Krishṇa to Nānā Sāheb and Bhao Sāheb.
35. *Ibid*, *Letter* No. 214, dated February 8, 1758—Visāji Krishṇa to Pēshwa.

point of entering the territory of Seringapatam,[36] when the authorities there just attempted to move about and raise the required amount by appealing to Muraḷi Dās and other bankers to make up 4-5 lakhs each.[37] The ways of Seringapatam, however, became extremely dilatory.[38] In April, Banāji Mādhava Rao, in obedience to the orders of the Pēshwa, left the place to join Balavant Rao,[39] passing by way of Mēlkōṭe and Nāgamangala and taking Dēvanahaḷḷi.[40] At the end of April, Balavant Rao was in haste to go back to the home country.[41] Early in May, Ragho Bābaji, from Huliyūrdurg, sent clerks to Seringapatam to sound the situation,[42] though neither the news of the arrival of the Pēshwa in the Karnāṭak nor even of the capture of Dēvanahaḷḷi would open the eyes of its inhabitants.[43] At length, in July, Gōpāl Rao Gōvind (Gopāl Hari of Mirāj) and Malhār Rao Bhikāji (Malhār Rao Rāste), who set out from the Deccan at the head of 40,000 horse and foot to collect *chauth* in the Seringapatam and Arcot countries,[44] despatched their agents, Banāji-Pant (Banāji Mādhava Rao, sent for the third time since 1755) and Bhawānji Naik, to Seringapatam,[45] with instructions to demand the arrears and the biennial tribute for 1757-1758 and 1758-1759 and warn the people of the State to pay off the dues of the Pēshwa as otherwise ruin and grief would await them.[46]

36. *Ibid*, *Letter* No. 218, dated April 4, 1758—Mukund Śrīpat, Bēgūr, to Bābā Sāheb.
37. *Ibid*, *Letter* No. 237, dated April 3, 1758—Dāji Nārāyaṇ Sāswāḍ to Pēshwa.
38. *Ibid*, *Letter* No. 219, dated April 29, 1758—Banāji Mādhava Rao, Dēvanhaḷḷi, to Pēshwa.
39. *Ibid*; see also *Letter* No. 249, dated April 1758. 40. *Ibid*.
41. *Ibid*.—By August 1758, Balavant Rao had left the Karnāṭak (see *Letter* No. 248, cited below).
42. *Ibid*, *Letter* No. 220, dated May 8, 1758—Ragho Bābaji, Huliyūr-durg to Balavant Rao.
43. *Ibid*. 44. *Haid. Nām.*, ff. 16.
45. *Sel. Pesh. Daft.*, *Letter* Nos. 222 and 223, dated July 19 and August 2, 1758—Gōpāl Rao Gōvind and Malhār Rao Bhikāji to Banāji-Pant.
46. *Ibid*.

Their advance on Bangalore, February-August 1758.

Meanwhile, elsewhere affairs wore a different appearance. Since February 1758, Mukund Rao Śrīpat was with his 500 horse engaged in raiding the Bangalore Pettah, occupying and devastating the country round and intercepting the passage of provisions to the fort (of Bangalore.)[47] In April-May, Barakki Venkaṭa Rao at Seringapatam prepared to proceed to Bangalore, accompanied by Khupsa [? Yākoob Sāhib] and Amar Singh.[48] Venkaṭa Rao having probably fallen ill, his son Barakki Śrīnivāsa Rao (the "Śrīnivāsa Venkaṭēś Bangalorekar" of the letters of the *Pēshwa Daftar*) was desired by the *Kartar* and Nanjarājaiya to take the command.[49] In June, Śrīnivāsa Rao proceeded towards Bangalore. He lay in wait with 40 select followers on the route between Bangalore and Hoskōṭe, and at dawn made a surprise attack on Mukund Rao—then on his return journey from Bangalore—pursuing him as far as Hoskōṭe, wounding his men and capturing a hundred of his horse.[50] During June-July, Śrīnivāsa Rao, having gathered 200 horse, began systematically to raid and harass Hoskōṭe and other Mahratta outposts, reducing Mukund Rao to severe straits and compelling him to report frequently the state of affairs to Gōpāl Rao and Malhār Rao, now on their way to Bangalore.[51] About the end of July, Mukund Rao managed to raise fresh recruits and attempted with considerable difficulty to hold his own against Śrīnivāsa Rao,[52] who, with reinforcements from Seringapatam, planned to take Dēvanahaḷḷi from the Mahrattas.[53] About five miles from Bangalore (?), a

47. *Haid. Nām.*, ff. 15-16.
48. *Sel. Pesh. Daft.*, *Letter* Nos. 218 and 220 (dated April 4 and May 3, 1758) *supra*. According to No. 218, Venkaṭa Rao had collected "2,000 horsemen, 1,000 *gardies*, 200 Europeans and 5-7 guns."
49. *Haid. Nām.*, ff. 16. 50. *Ibid.*
51. *Ibid*; see also *Sel. Pesh. Daft.*, *Letter* No. 248, dated August 1758—Mukund Rao Śrīpat to Mahīpat Rao Dāda.
52. *Sel. Pesh Daft.*, *Letter* No. 248 *supra*. 53. *Ibid.*

skirmish took place, in which there were casualties on both sides and Mukund Rao won the day.[54] Early in August, the latter made a sally on the Pettah of Bangalore, pursuing Śrīnivāsa Rao to the very walls of the fort "under the range of its guns."[55] In the action which followed, Mukund Rao was again victorious, though there were losses on either side, among those killed being a Commander of Mysore horse.[56] Śrīnivāsa Rao was forced to remain in Bangalore, blockaded by the Mahratta troops.[57]

Their renewed pressure on Seringapatam, August-September 1758.

About the middle of August, Gōpāl Rao and Malhār Rao, having settled the contribution with the chief of Chitaldrug and taken possession of Kandīkere, Chiknāyakanahaḷḷi, Honnavaḷḷi and Turuvēkere, arrived in the neighbourhood of Bangalore, from where they continued, through their agents at Seringapatam, to bring pressure to bear upon the authorities there for the speedy settlement of the Pēshwa's dues.[58] Already at the end of July, Banāji-Pant had written to Gōpāl Rao about "nine lakhs only of the arrears and the tribute in cash [for 1758] being guaranteed" by the Rāja of Seringapatam.[59] On August 18, the Mahratta leaders communicated to Banāji the Pēshwa's peremptory orders "never to leave the territory [of Seringapatam] in a lakh degrees, unless and until the whole of the past arrears and a considerable amount as the tribute for these years is paid in cash; if satisfactory decision is not made, to establish stations over Bangalore and the rest of the territory on this side of the Cauvery; and if this does not bring them [the authorities at Seringapatam]

54. *Ibid.* The text refers to *Bagetala*, which is unidentifiable. Probably it is a scribal slip for *Bangalore* (?), according to the context.
55. *Ibid.* 56. *Ibid.* 57. *Ibid.*
58. *Ibid*, *Letter* Nos. 224 and 225 (dated August 18 and 19, 1758) *infra*; see also Nos. 222, 223 and 248 (dated July-August 1758) *supra*.
59. *Ibid*, *Letter* No. 223 *supra*.

round to an amicable settlement, to go beyond the Cauvery after the water subsides, render the province barren and force them to pay the demanded tribute or transfer the possession of the kingdom itself in a treaty."[60] At the same time, by way of moderating the Pēshwa's demand, they repeatedly instructed Banāji to agree to the Rāja's proposals for the payment of the arrears, and, as for the biennial contributions, to urge upon him, in all possible ways, to sue for peace by issuing three *huṇḍis* payable at three different periods (that might be fixed) or one consolidated *huṇḍi* for the entire dues, whichever convenient.[61] There seemed, however, no possibility of definite action in the court of Seringapatam and the negotiations lingered on.[62] On the 24th, Banāji was desired by his superiors to speed up the negotiations.[63] And on the 31st, they sent him positive instructions to leave the capital.[64] Meantime, the authorities at Seringapatam sought to bide their time by fresh promises and talks of guarantee.[65] Early in September, Banāji was again instructed to hasten to settle with the Rāja "all payments in cash and in *hundis*."[66] Banāji exerted his utmost to push through the negotiations,[67] and could only prevail upon the Rāja "to try to hand over thirty lakhs worth of valuables to the bankers who were to be requested to stand guarantee for forty lakhs [to the Mahrattas]."[68] The actual collections amounted to not more than "twenty or barely twenty-five lakhs" and the valuables consisted mostly of diamonds.[69] At first the authorities proposed to give the diamonds to the bankers who were to guarantee the

60. *Ibid*, *Letter* No. 224, dated August 18, 1758?—Gōpāl Rao Gōvind and Malhār Rao Bhikāji to Banāji-Pant.
61. *Ibid*; also *Letter* Nos. 225 and 226, dated August 19 and 20, 1758—*Ibid*.
62. *Ibid*, *Letter* No. 227, dated August 24, 1758—*Ibid*. 63. *Ibid*.
64. *Ibid*, *Letter* No. 228, dated August 31, 1758—*Ibid*.
65. *Ibid*, *Letter* No. 229, dated September 4, 1758—*Ibid*. 66. *Ibid*.
67. *Ibid*, *Letter* No. 233, dated September 10, 1758—*Ibid*. 68. *Ibid*.
69. *Ibid*.

money, but later they found it expedient to hand them directly to the Mahrattas.[70] On the 13th, therefore, Banāji was directed to insist upon payment on the valuation of diamonds on the spot by four people on the Mahratta side or upon their being sent to Poona for the purpose and making the bankers of Seringapatam either pay according to the local calculation or guarantee full payment in rupees at Poona.[71] The negotiations, however, fell through, as the Rāja could not get sureties of the bankers (who would not guarantee payment in the absence of *manōti* or customary advances) for the amount proposed.[72] In the meanwhile, on the 20th, Gōpāl Rao and his colleague had received fresh instructions from Poona to the following effect :[73] "Pattan must pay in the course of one year fifty lakhs in all, including 30-32 lakhs as arrears and twenty more as the tribute for the current year. When this much is guaranteed, the captured stations should be given up. And if he [chief of Seringapatam] consents to pay 30 lakhs for every year to come, his territory should be guaranteed against any further molestations. Or, if he is not agreeable to this wholesale payment, he should not demand back the 15 lakhs worth of territory now in the Government possession and should supplement it by paying 15 lakhs as an additional payment by way of tribute. If he does not agree even to the last proposal, as much territory as possible should be conquered." About the same time Banāji-Pant and Bhawānji Naik, in obedience to their masters' orders, left the court of Seringapatam, arriving at Bangalore on the 22nd.[74] They came with fresh proposals from the Rāja, which amounted to "15 lakhs in cash, 15 lakhs worth of diamonds, 2 lakhs with Ranga

70. *Ibid*, *Letter* No. 231, dated September 13, 1758—*Ibid*.
71. *Ibid*.
72. *Ibid*, *Letter* Nos. 232 and 235, dated September 28, 1758—Gōpāl Rao Gōvind and Malhār Rao Bhikāji to Pēshwa.
73. *Ibid*, *Letter* No. 232 *supra*. 74. *Ibid*, *Letter* Nos. 232 and 235 *supra*.

Sheti [Ranga Seṭṭi] and a guarantee of 2 lakhs of a moneyed man named Neel Chikaya and 2 lakhs in the form of orders of payment to be drawn on the revenues of the province."[75] But it was too late.

Their siege of Bangalore, September 1758.

Alongside of these negotiations, the Mysoreans and the Mahrattas were gradually drifting into war. About the 20th of August, the Mysore troops captured nearly 250 Mahratta horse "engaged in looking out for provisions."[76] By the 24th, Gōpāl Rao and Malhār Rao in turn took Channapaṭṇa by cannonade, seizing 4,000 cattle and driving all the farmers to Seringapatam ("to expedite payment of tribute").[77] On the 26th, they went up to Maddūr (which, however, could not be taken owing to the river there being now unfordable), and from thence marched on in the direction of Bangalore.[78] On the 18th of September, they invested and took possession of Kānkānhaḷḷi[79] and this was followed by the acquisition of Apramēya-durga.[80] At last, on the 19th, they directed their batteries against Bangalore, from where they intended eventually to advance on Seringapatam.[81]

Haidar's opportunity, August-September 1758.

By now the position of Barakki Śrīnivāsa Rao at Bangalore had become critical in the extreme. Encircled as he was by the Mahrattas who had encamped as far as Channapaṭṇa and Maddūr, he experienced considerable difficulty in getting supplies of provisions to the fort, and his men were famishing.[82] About the end of August, he wrote letters to the *Kartar*, Nanjarājaiya and Venkaṭa

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75. *Ibid*, *Letter* No. 235 *supra*. "Neel Chikaya," mentioned in this record, is perhaps identical with *Nirli Chikkaiya* referred to as an agent for the affairs (*kāryakke kartarāda*) of Chikke Urs of Kaḷale, in *E.C.*, III (1) Nj. 94 (1766).
76. *Sel. Pesh. Daft.*, *Letter* No. 227 *supra*.
77. *Ibid*.
78. *Ibid*, *Letter* No. 228 *supra*.
79. *Ibid*, *Letter* No. 233 *supra*.
80. *Ibid*, *Letter* No. 235 *supra*.
81. *Ibid*, *Letter* No. 242, dated October 14, 1758, addressed to the Pēshwa.
82. *Haid. Nām.*, ff. 16.

Rao (his father), appealing for immediate despatch of relief.[83] At Seringapatam, it became a serious problem to find a Sardār who could lead convoys to Bangalore in the teeth of the enemy's opposition.[84] At length, early in September, Venkaṭa Rao, says the chronicle,[85] pitched upon Haidar as the proper person to undertake this difficult service. Approaching the latter in his camp, he entreated him to save his son from the crisis. Haidar, profuse in his expressions of regard and sympathy, willingly accepted the offer, and sent back Venkaṭa Rao, duly honouring him with presents. Indeed, to Haidar this was a supreme chance. Since August, he had been, as indicated, cautiously watching the trend of Mahratta affairs in Mysore. Already, about the 20th of that month, we learn,[86] he had, with Venkaṭapataiya, made his own proposal to Banāji-Pant, offering "to pay up the [Pēshwa's] tribute for two years and escape any charge of dishonesty that would attach to non-payment." Banāji, however, seemed to view the proposal with suspicion, since "the guarantee," as he observed,[87] "cannot be assured without consulting twelve money-lenders." At the end of August, "when money was not forthcoming," Haidar, we further learn,[88] sought to arrange for payments "by speaking more or less on the strength of his military power." In truth, however, he had been, during all this time, silently preparing to overawe the Mahrattas, moving his flags and talking "threateningly of battle and warfare."[89]

His march on Bangalore, September 1758.

About the middle of September, Haidar, in consultation with Mokhdum Sāhib and Kabīr Beig (Haidar's trusted follower), was busy planning the acquisition of Maddūr and Channapaṭṇa as the first step in conducting any

83. *Ibid.* 84. *Ibid.* 85. *Ibid*, ff. 16-17.
86. *Sel. Pesh. Daft., Letter* No. 227 *supra.* 87. *Ibid.*
88. *Ibid, Letter* No. 229 *supra.* 89. *Ibid, Letter* No. 228 *supra.*

effective march to Bangalore.[90] Luckily, at this juncture, we are told,[91] Sārangi Venkaṭagiraiya, the Brāhman *Gurikār* of Huliyūr-durga, who had fled from his place on account of the incursions of the Mahratta horse under Ragho Bābaji, approached Haidar and offered to take possession of Channapaṭṇa for him through the mediation of Hari-Pant, the local Śānabhōg. At this, Haidar, who had by now mustered "about 2,500 cavalry, 2,000 gunmen, about 70 Europeans with 15 guns and 2,000 Kanarese foot soldiers," hastened to Maddūr,[92] from where he despatched with Venkaṭagiraiya a detachment of 700 horse and 1,000 musketeers (under Mokhdum and Kabīr Beig) to Channapaṭṇa.[93] "They lost no time," says the news-letter,[94] "in getting into the fort by means of ladders. The people from the Government side were not aware of the gathering storm [it being a nocturnal enterprise[95]] till they felt the counter-attack considerably strengthened owing to this accession to the enemy power, and suffered a great loss as some of their men were seized, wounded or killed in the fray." About the 20th of September, Channapaṭṇa was taken and revenue deposits in that fort to the extent of two lakhs of *varahas* made prize of.[96] Whereupon the Mahratta forces, encamped near Maddūr, engaged Haidar's troops in a skirmish, in which the latter got the upper hand.[97] Haidar now set out with substantial supplies to the relief of Bangalore.[98] On receipt of this news, Banāji-Pant was sent to confer with him (September 23).[99] At Channapaṭṇa, Banāji met Haidar who, however, had but one answer to give,[100] namely, "I am but a servant and am proceeding to Bangalore at the masters' behests to

90. *Haid. Nām.*, ff. 17. 91. *Ibid.*
92. *Sel. Pesh. Daft.*, *Letter* No. 242 *supra*; see also and compare *Haid. Nām.*, ff. 17-18.
93. *Ibid*; also *Haid. Nām.*, ff. 17. 94. *Ibid.*
95. *Haid. Nām.*, l.c. 96. *Ibid.* 97. *Ibid*, ff. 17-18.
98. *Sel. Pesh. Daft.*, l.c.; also *Haid. Nām.*, ff. 18. 99. *Ibid.*
100. *Ibid.*

give a fight there. If at all you have to say something, you have now to go to Pattan and get the orders changed. I will act up to the orders issued from there." By the 25th, Haidar arrived with his forces near Bangalore.

Progress of the siege, September-October 1758.

Meanwhile the Mahrattas had pushed on the siege of Bangalore and almost overcome it, greatly weakening the fort under the cannonade of their guns, causing casualties of 250 men and about 60 horses of Śrīnivāsa Rao and advancing up to the moat.[101] Haidar so manœuvred as to place the small investing force of Śrīnivāsa Rao between the two divisions of the enemy, while he himself occupied a vantage ground with his main army, so that he could not only relieve Bangalore but also turn upon the Mahrattas jointly with Śrīnivāsa Rao.[102] Gōpāl Rao found it considerably difficult to cope with this position of Haidar. Accordingly, on the 2nd of October, he abandoned the batteries and advanced to about 3 miles from Bangalore between Yelahanka and Bāṇāvar, the next day.[103] On the 13th, he marched with his forces to Māgaḍi by way of Nelamangala.[104] It was his avowed object to chastise Haidar, capture Channapaṭṇa and then march on to Seringapatam, " where the prospect of peace or war was to be left to be decided by circumstances."[105]

101. *Ibid.*
102. *Ibid*
103. *Ibid*; also *Haid. Nām.*, l.c.
104. *Ibid.*
105. *Ibid*; also *Letter* No. 245, dated October 14, 1758, addressed to the Pēshwa (?). According to this letter, Banāji-Pant, shortly after Gōpāl Rao's unsuccessful attempt on Bangalore, went a second time to Seringapatam to effect a settlement with the Rāja, "who had earlier made certain proposals to Banaji Pant, which proved ineffective then." Banāji, however, met with little success even on this occasion. For, says the letter, "When the news that Raoji [Gōpāl Rao], in fear of Haidar's army, abandoned the siege of Bangalore and marched away from there, reached Pattan, the Raja there assumed superior airs . . . The earlier tone was all changed. It became progressively difficult for Banaji Pant even to obtain an interview and they began openly to talk of war. Banaji Pant reported that the settlement could have been possible but for the news of your [? Pēshwa's] giving up the siege. 'This last development has changed their mind and there is no prospect of peace,' said he. Nothing further was done."

Haidar raises the siege and engages the Mahrattas, October-December 1758.

By the 20th of October, Haidar, having raised the siege of Bangalore and provided for its safety,[106] was on his way back to Seringapatam, when the forces of Gōpāl Rao began to pursue his troops.[107] Haidar, with his usual self-possession, made a counter-movement, leading his pursuers to the jungle tracts of Channapaṭṇa, where, for nearly a month and a half, he engaged them in a guerilla war, harassing their ranks and reducing them to extremities.[108] At last, early in December, Gōpāl Rao was obliged to agree to a peaceful settlement. Haidar, on his own surety, compounded the entire claim of the Pēshwa at rupees 30 lakhs and returned to Seringapatam with the bankers of Gōpāl Rao's army, after securing the release of all the places pledged to the Mahrattas in 1757.[109]

106. According to *Sel. Pesh. Daft.*, *Letter* No. 242 *supra*, Barakki Śrīnivāsa Rao was left with "800 cavalry, 1,000 musketeers and 5,500 foot soldiers at Bangalore."

107. *Haid. Nām.*, ff. 18. 108. *Ibid.*

109. *Ibid.* This work makes it appear that Gōpāl Rao was so harassed that he was obliged to sue for peace and retire. But in view of what followed, this position cannot be taken to be literally true. Evidently both parties were tired of the war as much as of the negotiations they had indulged in and agreed to a friendly compromise. The "claim" as such was one that could have been sustained only by a show of successful "might" and the "levy" was treated by Mysore as no more than an "imposition" which could only be exacted from her by nothing short of war actually carried out. Cf., on this topic, *Mad. Desp.* (1754-1765), p. 169, dated October 5/10, 1758, referring to rupees 20 lakhs as the amount reported to have been stipulated by the Mahrattas about October 1758. This seems inaccurate in the light of the *Haid. Nām.* and other sources. According to the *Sel. Pesh. Daft.*, Vol. XXVIII, *Letter* No. 254 [dated January 13, 1759 (?)—Child Rāmachandra to Dāda], the Mahrattas appear to have signed peace with Seringapatam not earlier than December 1758. According to another letter from the same source (Vol. XL, No. 116 cited *infra*), Seringapatam was "still under investment" during January 1759 and the Mahrattas were pressing their claims for the arrears of the Pēshwa's dues. "The Raja," we are told, "tried his best to raise money in Pattan but the bankers would not contribute a farthing." At an interview on January 11, he is also reported to have said to the Mahratta representative, Viṭhal Samrāj, "We have already guaranteed payments to Bhukanji as agreed with Raj. Gopal Rao last year. The balance remaining will also be paid in a short time. We are anxious to keep the friendship of the Peshwa and we will see that the dues this year

Haidar rose in the estimation of both the *Kartar* and Nanjarājaiya, who, in recognition of his services, about the middle of December, designated him as *Nawāb Haidar Alī Khān Bahadūr*, honouring him with presents.[110] At the end of the year (1758) Haidar got Khaṇḍē Rao appointed to the Dewānship of the State, mediated in the *Kartar's* grant of three lakhs' *jahgīr* to Nanjarājaiya, issued a pay order to Vāḍēbāgila Ranganṇa in satisfaction of his demand for rupees three lakhs (advanced to Haidar in 1757) and despatched a portion of his troops to Cuddapah.[111]

Rises in the estimation of his masters, December 1758.

Four months later (*i.e.*, in April 1759), Haidar represented to the *Kartar* the financial burden devolving upon him by what he alleged as the recruitment of additional troops for the army and the demands of the bankers' clerks for the arrears of the Pēshwa's dues.[112] In settlement of these claims, Haidar was granted an assignment of revenues from one half of the kingdom.[113] Indeed his influence on the administration was distinctly perceptible already about the end of April, as inscriptions seem to testify.[114] Early in May, Haidar advanced with

Is granted an assignment, April 1759.

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are also guaranteed. But you see the State is being rendered feeble and we are solely dependent on the support of the Mahrattas. There is internal feud in the State itself, which has to be made up. We will compromise somehow in some 2-4 days. We have to arrange for redeeming the diamonds that are pawned. The Nizam has some arrears with us. It is 4-5 years since they were due and his armies are coming soon. His representative is ordered to wait at Sira and is not yet admitted to audience. We think it important to seek the friendship of the Shrimanta and hence it is that we have received you in preference to others." The arrears, however, remained unpaid till July 1760, when Visāji Krishṇa, as we shall see in the next chapter, enforced the Pēshwa's claim therefor by a renewed invasion of Mysore.

110. *Ibid.*

111. *Ibid*, ff. 15; also *Sel. Pesh. Daft.*, Vol. XL, *Letter* No. 116, dated January 19, 1759—Viṭhal Samrāj, Seringapatam, to Pēshwa (?)

112. *Ibid*, ff. 18. 113. *Ibid.*

114. *Vide* references noticed under *Grants and other records* in Ch. XII, f.n. 20.

his troops from Mysore, capturing the countries between the Cauvery and the Coleroon and attacking the Trichinopoly fort.[115] He stayed in the South strengthening his position at Diṇḍigal and Sālem-Bārāmahal, and returned to Seringapatam by the end of August, being required to lay siege to Mysore under circumstances narrated in the last chapter.

Returns to Seringapatam, August 1759.

115. *Di. A. Pi.*, XI. 922: *Notes* dated May 11, 1759. The reference to the southern movements of Haidar Alī in 1759 is significant from the point of view of his treading in the footsteps of his master, Karāchūri Nanjarāja-iya. Haidar's appointment to the Faujdāri of Diṇḍigal in 1755 was in itself, as we have seen above, a landmark of considerable importance in his career, and he first turned his attention towards the South already by the end of 1757. His southern objective began, however, to shape itself in a more effective manner from 1759 onwards.